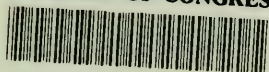


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EXTRACT FROM THE SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN A. LOGAN.

DELIVERED IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES, JUNE 3, 1872,

IN

Reply to Senator Sumner's Attack on President Grant's Administration.

Mr. President, at the close of the war in 1865, on the 22d day of May, when the armies were marshaled here in the streets of Washington, as we passed by this Senate Chamber and marched down Pennsylvania avenue, with the officers at the head of their columns, I remember to have read on the outer walls this motto: "There is one debt this country can never repay, and that is the debt of gratitude it owes to the soldiers who have preserved the Union." Little did I think, then, sir, that within seven years afterward I should hear an assault like this upon the leader of that Army within these very walls. Mr. President, is that debt of gratitude so soon forgotten? Shall the fair fame and reputation of the man who led those armies be trampled in the dust by one man, who claims so egotistically here that he organized the party which made the war against the oligarchy of slavery? But, sir, that attempt has been witnessed here, to our great sorrow. The eloquence, the power, the education, all that belong to the Senator from Massachusetts has been brought to bear, not in consonance with that motto, not in keeping alive in the bosoms of the people of the United States that feeling of gratitude to the men who saved the country, but of ingratitude; and worse, of want of decent respect which should be shown either for the memory of the dead or for the character of the living.

The next division of the speech of the Senator from Massachusetts is in reference to "presidential pretension," and in discussing presidential pretensions, he draws himself to his full height and exclaims, "Upon what meat doth our Cæsar feed that he assumes so much?" That is the language of the Senator from Massachusetts. I might reply to the Senator and ask:

"Upon what meat doth this our Cæsar feed,
That he is grown so great?"

Where did he acquire the charter or the right to stand in this Senate Chamber and perpetrate slander upon slander, vile and malignant, against the best men of our land? I ask the Senator from Massachusetts, where does he acquire that title; where does he obtain that right belonging to himself alone? A right, however, that no one will covet.

The Senator says the President of the United States violates the Constitution, violates law, violates every principle that ought to govern the Chief Magistrate of a great nation. I should like to ask a question of the Senator if he were here, and I am sorry that he is not. "The wicked flee when no man pursueth." It certainly is not that he is in terror of anything that may be said; but why is it? Is he afraid that the ghost of his own slanders will come back to haunt him even here as well as in his chamber at night? Will it haunt him as the ghost of San Domingo haunts him every day? And this seems to follow him like the ghost of Banquo, making its appearance when he least expects it. Now, sir, in what has the President of the United States violated the Constitution? If the President has violated the Constitution, it is the duty of the House of Representatives to prefer charges against him, and of the Senate to try him for that offense. In what has the President violated the law? I ask the Senator from Massachusetts to tell this country in what has he violated the Constitution, in what particular? It may be that all of us have not construed the law alike. It is possible to construe the Constitution differently in certain respects. The President may have differed from us at times in reference to a construction of the law or of the Constitution, but if he has I have no knowledge of it. But even if that were the case it would be no violation of the Constitution or of the law in the sense in which

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such a thing as innuendo, and the Senator from Massachusetts, by the innuendoes in his speech, would leave the impression on the country that President Grant has appointed men to office who made him gifts because of the fact that they did make gifts; in other words, that the gift was the consideration for the office; therefore it was a corrupt bargain between the President and the office-taker. So far as this intimation, insinuation, or innuendo is concerned, as any one may please to term it, I say, and take the responsibility, for the President of the United States, of denouncing it as false, and basely false. I do so for the reason that men who have been appointed to office were appointed to the two offices he mentioned because of their friendship to the President, and their ability for the duties of the office, and their fealty to the Republican party.

Let us see for a moment what this gift-taking is. Is it a crime for a man to receive gifts who has accomplished great deeds for his country? If it is, let us examine the history of the country for a moment. President Grant was a great chieftain. He had achieved great things for this Government. He was a great commander of armies and forces. He was victorious in all his battles. When he came home from a victorious war, when States had been joined together that had before been severed, and people were united that had been divided by war, the people of the country felt grateful to him for his achievements and what he had done for them. There was no way in which some of the wealthy men of this country believed they could show their gratitude to this great chieftain more appropriately, inasmuch as he was a man of small means, than by presenting him with that which would make him a comfortable income the rest of his life. They did it because they were actuated by generous feelings toward him, because they were loyal men, because they loved their country. Their country had been saved, their property had been saved, and they were willing to contribute to the benefit of this man. They did so. In contributing to him they contributed to many others, as was said by the Senator from Wisconsin. General Sherman and other generals that I could mention they contributed to because of their gratefulness to them for the service they had rendered the country. These contributions were made to him when he was a soldier; they were made to him when he was not President; they were given to him, and given to him with good feeling, a generous feeling, a feeling of kindness, without any hesitancy on the part of the people who gave them, without the expectation of any remuneration or any reward that would be given to them by the President of the United States.

When General Sherman and General Grant received presents, men, women, and children all over the land thanked God that some persons were able to make them presents, because of the fact that they deserved it, the people being a grateful people. Let me read in reference to some other soldiers and great men who have received presents,

and why? Because of the gratefulness of their country to them:

"When the Duke of Wellington returned to England from his victorious campaigns against Napoleon, not only were honors, of every sort, heaped upon him by the Government, but as a substantial testimonial of national gratitude the mansion and estate of Stratfieldsaye, in Hampshire, were purchased for him, by subscription, at a cost of £263,000, (or \$1,315,000,) and presented to him as the gift of the nation.

"After a good many years of active and strenuous agitation, Mr. Richard Cobden, the founder of the British Anti-Corn Law League, and one of the ablest and purest of British statesmen, whose fame is as broad as the world, succeeded in securing the repeal of the corn laws. In gratitude for their deliverance, through his efforts, from this great burden, his friends and admirers presented Mr. Cobden the sum of £350,000, raised by subscription, on the receipt of which he retired from his business of cotton printing.

"When General George B. McClellan was retired from the command of the army of the Potomac, after the disasters inflicted upon it by his bad generalship, his wealthy Democratic friends, desirous of saving his wounded feelings with a substantial evidence of their appreciation of his inestimable success with the spade, made him a present of a furnished house, in New York, which cost \$50,000, and a considerable amount of greenbacks besides, all raised by private subscription, and soon afterward made him the Democratic candidate for President.

"If General McClellan, who had never won a battle of any consequence, and who had led our finest army to a succession of terrible defeats, was thought worthy of so substantial a recognition of his military services by his Democratic friends, it could hardly be expected that Republicans should show a less grateful appreciation of the services of the most successful of our generals, who led our armies, east and west, through a long succession of splendid and decisive victories. Accordingly, when General Grant had smitten down the rebel power, east and west of the Alleghenies, by his tremendous and unerring blows, the sum of \$160,000, we believe, was raised by subscription, among loyal and wealthy citizens, and presented to him as a testimonial of their and the nation's gratitude; and, if we remember rightly, a house was presented to him by Philadelphians. This was in the summer of 1865, a few months after the surrender of Lee and Johnson, when General Grant had no more thought of ever being President of the United States than of being Emperor of Russia. He had, to his honor be it said, returned, from his conquest of the rebel South, crowned with the laurels of a hundred victories, no richer for the war which enriched so many army contractors and commissaries than when, four years before, he had gone from his Galena tannery to offer his services to Governor Yates."

I might go on and enumerate quite a number of men who have received gifts because of the gratitude of the people of their country for that which they had done. In fact, if we were to search the pages of ancient history for the purpose of finding something objectionable to apply to General Grant, we would find that those who came home victorious received triumphs. It has been from time immemorial the case that men who achieved great things in war were received triumphantly by their people, some with gifts and presents, some in one way and some in another; and yet because the custom of the ancient world followed down to the present day in the instance of President Grant, it is brought against him here as a charge to show that he has used it as a consideration by giving office to persons not entitled thereto, and therefore should not be again elected. Sir, you must show something more than the acquiescence in customs

to turn this country against its greatest preserver among men.

Let me call the attention of the Senator from Massachusetts to the fact that on our statute-books to-day we find the law that where naval officers capture prizes they are entitled to a division of the prizes. Why? To encourage the navy to capture prizes and be vigilant. Even here you make presents to naval officers by statute law, for doing what? Just for performing their duty and nothing more. But inasmuch as President Grant performed his duty without prize money, when he came home and the people bestowed upon him that which you bestow by law on naval officers the eloquent Senator from Massachusetts arises in his place and charges corruption. How easy it is, sir, for us to find fault with others whom the people honor, lest we may never be placed in a position to be so highly favored ourselves.

After discussing the question of gift-taking he says that Mr. Stewart, of New York, was appointed Secretary of the Treasury, and he uses that for the purpose of showing the ignorance of President Grant. He says that President Grant appointed Mr. Stewart; he does not say it was because Mr. Stewart had made him a present, but that is the inference from his language, and at the same time he intimates the ignorance of the President to be so great that he did not know that an importing merchant could not be collector of the port of New York or Secretary of the Treasury. Now, I venture the assertion, and I think I can prove it from the record, that the Senator's ignorance was so great at the same time that he did not know it was the law. Mr. Lincoln once tendered the appointment to an importing merchant of collector of New York, without a knowledge of the law, and the merchant declined. It was an old statute, unknown to any one almost, unthought-of for years. Mr. Stewart's name was sent to the Senate Chamber, and in the message withdrawing the name of Mr. Stewart the President said, after mentioning the statute:

"In view of these provisions and the fact that Mr. Stewart has been unanimously confirmed by the Senate, I withdraw his name."

In view of what? In view of the fact that this statute exists, and what other fact? The fact that he has been unanimously confirmed? Tell me how could he be unanimously confirmed in this Senate if there was a man in the Senate who knew that law existed at that time. It was not ignorance on the part of President Grant any more than it was on the part of the Senator from Massachusetts, who voted for his confirmation with that statute on our books. Yet he brings this forward as a fact to prove the ignorance of President Grant that he did not know that the law existed. We are all very wise after finding out something. If we only find out that which others did not know before, we are very anxious to tell the world of our great discovery, and when it was ascertained. The Senator did not tell the Senate that he found and discovered this statute. It is a wonder he did not say, "I arose and objected

at the time, because it was in violation of law." He did not say that; but the statute was discovered by a clerk in the Treasury Department, and not by the Senator from Massachusetts or any other Senator. Yet the Senator from Massachusetts has achieved a great victory over President Grant in proving him to be ignorant of a statute that he knew nothing about himself.

The next suggestion of the Senator is, that President Grant quarrels with every one.

I know that President Grant is not a quarrelsome man. If he dislikes you he has nothing to do with you, but he does not quarrel. In the army, if an officer did not perform his duty, he merely sent him a little order relieving him from duty, and you have never heard General Grant lisp the reason up to this day why he relieved an officer in the army, and if you will go and ask him now why he relieved many officers during the war, he will not tell you. He did it because he thought they had failed to perform their duty, but the reason he did not give, because perhaps he thought others might not see the fault as he did, and if he was mistaken he would let it work itself out without trying to injure the party any worse than by simply relieving him. This was his mode of doing business in the army. I believe it is his manner to-day. If you dislike him and let him know it, that is enough; you hear nothing from him. If he dislikes you it is the same thing precisely, but he quarrels with no one.

Mr. President, the speech of the Senator from Massachusetts presented to the country at this particular time is a very significant fact. I wish to call his attention to one point in it, but this suggestion I wish to make in order to show him how fatal to himself this speech may be.

He says that at the time he approached Secretary Stanton on his dying bed, and the Secretary repeated to him the reasons why he had no faith in General Grant's ability to administer the Government, he said to the Secretary, "It is too late; why did you not say this sooner?" I repeat the same thing to Senator Sumner. Your speech, to perform the office you intended it, came too late. Hence I am led to the conclusion that it was not intended to perform the office which he says it was intended, but it was to perform a very different office from that which he intimates he intended it should perform; that is to say, to advise the American people that President Grant was not qualified to exercise the functions of that office, and hence ought to be supplanted by some one else at Philadelphia. No, sir; if that was the object it comes too late. That being so, I have come to the conclusion that a man of so much wisdom and of so many pretensions as the Senator from Massachusetts had a very different intention.

Sir, his intention was to strangle and destroy the Republican party, that party which he says he created. If he did, I say to him he performed a great work. If he was the architect and builder of the Republican party he is a great master workman—its dome so beautifully rounded, its columns so admir-

ably chiseled, and all its parts so admirably prepared, and builded together so smoothly and so perfectly that the mechanism charms the eye of every one who has ever seen it. Since the Senator has performed such a great work, I appeal to him to know why it is that he attempts to destroy the workmanship of his own hands. But let me give him one word of advice. While he may think, Samson-like, that he has the strength to carry off the gates and the pillars of the temple, let me tell him when he stretches forth his arm to cause the pillars to reel and totter beneath this fabric, there are thousands and thousands of true-hearted Republicans who will come up to the work, and stretching forth their strong right arms, say, "Stay thou there; these pillars stand beneath this mighty fabric of ours, within which we all dwell; it is the ark of our safety, and shall not be destroyed." [Manifestations of applause in the galleries.]

Now, Mr. President, let me call attention to the strange statement of the Senator in regard to Secretary Stanton's dying declaration about General Grant. According to this statement Secretary Stanton is made to say, in regard to his speeches, "I never introduced the name of General Grant." Sir, I am constrained to say that the statement can not be true. I have the record here to prove its falsity. I will in a moment read the evidence, and let the country judge between the living and the dead. Mr. President, Secretary Stanton, in my judgment, never made that statement. I will not drag forth the dead from their silent graves into the presence of this Senate to make them bear witness to my statements. I was with Secretary Stanton night after night, in company with General Chipman, of this city, waiting at the Secretary's office, and watching there, too, during a certain time which you all remember well. I remember conversation after conversation that we had, but I will not repeat them. I will give only such testimony as can be brought forward and as I have now. But as the Senator from Massachusetts stated that Secretary Stanton told him he never introduced the name of General Grant during the campaign of 1868, I have before me all the speeches that were made by Secretary Stanton during that Presidential campaign, three in Ohio and one in Pennsylvania, all printed in full. I will read that portion of the first one which has reference to General Grant, delivered at Cleveland, Ohio, on the 3d of October, 1868. I will read the fourth paragraph of the speech. After speaking of the great victories of the war, Secretary Stanton said:

"Let him bear in mind his safety he owes to Grant; that it is an honor to himself to support Grant, the general who held the banner of the nation illustrious before all others, and while kinsfolk gather around, and he tells of the mighty and wonderful things done in this land, how will he be able to whisper above his breath, lest his neighbors ask him, Did you vote for Grant? Have you done your duty? Does the Irishman, in a case of foreign war, wish to be seized by a British officer and pressed into the army of Great Britain? Then let him not desert that flag which is the emblem of national existence, but uphold the banner, so that it will be, wherever it is

visible, a shield and salvation to the citizen in every nation and clime."

That was the language of Secretary Stanton in reference to President Grant on the 3d of October, 1868, in the city of Cleveland, Ohio. Did he mention Grant's name in that speech? The Senator from Massachusetts says Secretary Stanton said to him, "I never mentioned his name." Let me call the attention of the Senate to another one of his speeches made at the City Hall in Philadelphia, in which the following language was used:

"Suppose the charges all to be true, what argument do they afford against Grant or in favor of Seymour?"

He was speaking of the charges of the mismanagement of the finances of the country.

"If delivered, as his speeches seem to have been prepared, for the State elections, when Congressmen were to have been chosen, they might have had some pertinency to the occasion, and may yet have in New York; but Grant has had as little to do with the financial mistakes of the Republican party as he had with the earthquakes in South America. If those mistakes were made during the war, Grant was at the head of the army in front of the foe."

Again, in the same speech he said:

"Now, before General Grant can be held responsible for the price of pork and corn, Governor Seymour should have explained how much more the farmers would get if he was elected President than if Grant was elected."

He uses General Grant's name in that connection. Then again, in the same speech, he said:

"In accepting the Republican nomination General Grant imposed but one condition, 'Let there be peace,' and any one who has seen his eye flash in the midst of danger knows that having said 'peace,' by the aid of divine Providence, so far as rests in human power, we may rely upon him that if he be elected there will be peace."

That was the language of Secretary Stanton on that occasion, at a meeting held in the Academy of Music, in Philadelphia. Again, in the same speech, he uttered the following:

"This mighty concourse, the largest that my eyes ever beheld, is significant of two things: first, it is a judgment in favor of Ulysses S. Grant, [cheers:] and second it is a judgment against Horatio Seymour."

Again, in the same speech, he said:

"Upon the election next Tuesday, the 3d of November, I behold the rock of our national safety, and upon the triumph of the banner which is held in the hands of Ulysses S. Grant I behold the victory of the principles of freedom and of just government, now and in all time." [Applause.]

That was the language of Edwin M. Stanton in his different speeches in two different places in reference to Ulysses S. Grant, and yet the Senator from Massachusetts stands up here and tells you that the last dying words of Secretary Stanton to him were that he never mentioned the name of Grant in any of his speeches, because of the want of confidence in him.

Again we call attention to the Secretary's speech at Steubenville, Ohio, September 25, 1868. Mr. Stanton refers to the election of 1864, and he says:

"Some of these measures have been carried out, others, for reasons needless to discuss now, still remain an unexecuted dead letter, and they will so remain until General Grant shall be elected President of the United States. [Great applause.] Grant then stands

this day, before us, the foremost military commander in the world, with peace for his watchword. [Applause.] Why should he not be elected? What reason has any lover of country for not voting for him? By his side stands Schuyler Colfax, who, by his own energy, good character, and industry, advanced from the printing office to the Speaker's chair, and for three successive terms has filled that high office with honor and distinction. Honest and upright men have been nominated for your Representatives in Congress, pledged to stand by Grant and the country; why then, again I ask should he and they not receive your support? The history of Grant is known to you and to the world. Educated at West Point, he served with distinction through the Mexican war, and when it was ended, unwilling to be a drone, resigned his commission and engaged in the pursuit of civil life. Leaving his peaceful pursuits at the commencement of the rebellion, he joined the army, and soon advanced to the rank of major general, commanding an army. After varied and important services, he moved upon the enemy's works at Donelson, and compelled their commander, Buckner, to surrender with eighteen thousand prisoners of war. Soon after he grappled with Beauregard on the field of Shiloh, and drove him and his routed army from the field. Resolved to open the navigation of the Mississippi river, he ran his batteries, fought and defeated General Johnston, chased the rebel General Pemberton into Vicksburg, and forced him to surrender with thirty thousand prisoners of war. [Applause.] Advanced to command all the armies of the west, he fought and defeated Bragg at Chattanooga, shattered his army, and delivered that vast territory from the hands of the rebels. [Applause.] Advanced still higher, as Lieutenant General, he changed his headquarters to the Potomac; forty days' marching and fighting through the Wilderness drove Lee and his army into Richmond. Compelled to evacuate, Lee was chased to Appomattox Court House, and forced to surrender himself and his arms and men as prisoners of war, which practically brought the rebellion to an end. [Applause.]

"And now I ask what reason has any man to vote against General Grant? His capacity and integrity for civil administration were equally manifested in the vast territory in which he operated. If any man among you would hide from the boy, the musket and knapsack that his father carried at Donelson, at Vicksburg, upon Lookout Mountain, throughout the Wilderness, before Richmond, at Five Forks, at Appomattox Court-house, and shouldering proudly, marched with two hundred thousand of his fellow-soldiers through the streets of Washington, and around the Capitol and Executive Mansion that he defended with his life, for years, in the long march, the wearisome siege, and the storm of battle, let such man vote against General Grant. [Applause.] If there is any man among you who would blot from the page of our history the story of these great achievements, let him draw black lines around them and write across their face, "Have no share in these great deeds, for I vote against Grant." [Applause.] Is there any man among you that would compel the armies of the Potomac, of the James, of the Ohio, of the Cumberland, of the Tennessee, and of the Gulf, to be again gathered at the top of the drum, and surrendered, as prisoners of war, to Lee and Johnson, Beauregard and Forrest, and Preston, let him vote against General Grant. [Applause.] If there is any man among you who has forgotten that bright summer Sabbath day the little Monitor, as she steamed out against the new sea monster, the Merrimack, and, before noon, drove her, shattered and crippled, to port; if there is any man who would have rejoiced to behold a cannon ball shatter Farragut, as, lashed to his mast, he drove through the rebel fleet and pushed them to pieces, let that man vote against Grant. If any man would have Worden, and Farragut, and Winslow, and all our great admirals haul down the star-spangled banner, never again to brave the battle and the breeze; if he would see them sink in shame from their own quarter-decks, and give up their ships to Maury, and Buchanan, and Semmes, and Meffat, while the Confederate bars, emblems of slavery, flaunt on every sea, in every State, let him vote against Grant. Vote early and vote often: for if Grant be elected, this

globe shall disappear from the armament before the banner of the United States shall suffer tarnish or shame on the land or on the deep. [Applause.] If there is any man among you that would reverse the order of history; who would bring upon you a shame and a reproach never before known among the nations of the earth; who would have the commander of the United States armies deliver up his sword and humbly bow before the rebel commander—let that man vote against Grant, but never again call himself an American citizen. [Applause.] If there is any man whose eyeballs would not burn to behold Lee upon the portico of the Capitol, with Beauregard, Preston, and Forrest at his side, with a Confederate army around him, and, as the Government is transferred to them, listen to the rebel yell as it sounds on the field of battle and in the New York convention, [loud cheers,] let such a man vote against Grant and go to Washington on the 4th of March. [Applause.] Why, then, I repeat, should any lover of his country vote against Grant, Colfax, and the Republican members of Congress? A convention has been held in New York and put in nomination opposition candidates—Horatio Seymour and Frank P. Blair. Seymour professes that he is an unwilling candidate, caught up by a whirlwind. [Laughter and cheers.] Blair was put in nomination by Preston, of Kentucky, who fought for years against his country, and the nomination was seconded by Forrest, of Fort Pillow. That nomination was received with acclamation, and the opposing candidates thus stand before you for your choice. The watchword of Grant, as I have said, is peace. Now, what is the watchword of the New York convention?"

Mr. President, I only desired to read portions of the speeches of Secretary Stanton, for the purpose of sustaining what I said; that was that I did not believe the statement of the Senator from Massachusetts. I do not believe that any one who reads the speeches of Secretary Stanton during that time can believe the statement of the Senator. I am inclined to take a charitable view of it, if we are allowed to view such statements with charity. It is the only thing that can excuse him from being false in his statements before the country.

The history of the world would write the American people down as a people not worthy of trust, as a people without gratitude, as a people who had seen a man bow his way to fame by his own strong arm, and then allowed an ambitious politician to strike him down with a merciless blow, and no one to stand by and to say, "The blow is too severe;" and I say to the Senator from Massachusetts that while he has struck this blow, as he believes a heavy one, on the head of the political prospects of General Grant, he has made him friends by the thousand, strong ones, too, that were merely lukewarm yesterday.

He has aroused the spirit of this land that can not be quelled. He has, in fact, inflamed the old war spirit in the soldiery of the country. He has aroused the feeling of indignation in every man that warmed his feet by a camp-fire during the war. He has sent through this land a thrill which will return to him in such a manner and with such force as will make him feel it. For myself, I will say that I have sat quietly here for months, and had not intended to say anything; I had no argument to make, intending to await the nomination of the Philadelphia Convention, be it Grant or be it whom it might, believing, however, it would be Grant; but when I heard these vile slanders hurled like javelins against the President of the United States, it aroused

a feeling in my breast which has been aroused many times before. I am now ready to buckle on my armor and am ready for the fray, and from now until November next to fight this battle in behalf of an honest man, a good soldier, and a faithful servant. [Applause in the galleries.]

You will hear a response to this everywhere. As I said the other day, it will be heard from one end of this land to the other. The lines of blue coats that were arrayed upon the hill-tops and along the valleys, with burnished bayonets, ready for the fight, the same men, although they have divested themselves of their battle array, yet retain their warlike spirit burning in their bosoms. They will respond to this challenge; they will say to the eloquent Senator from Massachusetts, "You have thrown down the glove and we will take it up." I tell the Senator he will find a response in his own State that will not give his slumberers much quiet. He will find a response everywhere. The people of this country will not see a man sacrificed to vile calumny. I would be willing, and I believe every one else would, to allow the contest to be settled fairly and justly. Let the people select whom they desire to have for their President or for any other position. And when the Senator from Massachusetts with his thundering voice echoing in this chamber proposes to exclude every man who fought for his country, every man that has been a soldier from civil office, and claiming that the right to hold office belongs alone to men like himself, I say he will find even poor but honest, hard-working men saying to him the time has not come in this free Republic of America for such doctrine to be tolerated on the floor of the Senate or on the floor of the lower House of Congress, and if so, it will not be taken and relished as a sweet morsel by the people of this land.

No, Mr. President, when we are challenged to the contest, and when we are told that soldiers are only made to be soldiers, and educated civilians only should hold high positions of trust in this country, I am sorry to say to the Senator, unfortunate man, you were never born to be President of the United States; you will never be the President of that grand party which you claim to have originated and organized. No man with such aspirations and such views and such feelings for the common people of this country can ever succeed as a politician or statesman in the midst of a people devoted to republican institutions.

President Grant has made an honest President. He has been faithful. The affairs of the nation are in good condition. We are at peace with the civilized world. Notwithstanding the Senator said we were in a muddle with every nation, we are at war with none. Every State in this Union is quiet; the laws have been faithfully executed and administered; we have quiet and peace throughout our land. Such blessings we have not had since the war until recently. But the Senator from Massachusetts would turn the Government of the United States over to the hands of our enemies. That is what we

do not desire. If he desires not to accomplish that let him be faithful and stand by the old Republican ship, in which there is life, and outside of which there is death. But whether he does or not, success will be ours; this Government will be peaceful, the people happy and prosperous, harmony and unity will prevail, to the great advancement of the material interests of this great nation.

Mr. President, let me ask Senators here who stood anxiously waiting at the close of this war to see the very state of things brought about that we see to-day, peace, comfort, quiet, and prosperity, as they looked out upon the boisterous ocean of secession and saw the raging and fierce billows of angry strife, if it was not the prayer then of every patriotic man, woman, and child in this land that the angry billows should cease, and that we should once more have placid seas; and as we looked out upon these angry waves of rebellion and strife and saw the old ship of State struggling to make her way to a harbor of safety, and saw this man, now President, then guiding and commanding the crew that managed this craft, when at his command our guns ceased their thunder and everything was still and quiet, the old ship, manned by her devoted crew, came safely into the harbor of safety, freighted with the hopes of mankind, where she is moored quiet and peaceful to-day? Who is there that can describe the outbreak of overjoyous hearts in strains of praise for the safety of our Republic that went forth on that day of triumph? Sir, that feeling still is in the bosom of patriots, and though slumbering will break forth again, having been aroused by the blast of the enemy's bugle.

Who is there among the Republicans that desires to set the old craft adrift again into the boisterous seas of tumult and confusion? I presume there is not one. Then let us as quiet, law-abiding, peaceable citizens, desirous of doing the best we can for our country, go straight forward in the execution of the proper plans and designs for the accomplishment of the objects for which republican institutions are established and are maintained.

Let us, then, proceed with our business; let us go home and present to the people of this country the indictment with its malignant charges, and ask them if they will submit to have a man so worthy as the President of the United States receive such calumny at the hands of any one without a proper rebuke, and I pledge you that you will have a response indicating no uncertain sound, coming from the lips and heart of every true patriot in the land.

Mr. President, I have detained the Senate much longer than I intended, but I deemed it just to myself and to my constituents that that document should not go before them without my raising my voice at least in protest against it. I have done so in my feeble manner, not ably, but the best that I could do; having done that I have performed what I consider my duty, and will now give way for the business of the Senate to proceed.





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